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Title of extract: **The First Stone Monastery**

Name of Author: **Coppack, G.**

Title/Author of book/edition (if applicable): **English Heritage Book of Fountains Abbey. Coppack, G.**

Name of Visual Creator or other acknowledgement (if applicable):

Journal details –title/Vol/Year (if applicable):

Publisher: **English Heritage**

Pages scanned: **24 - 35**

Course of Study (Module name and number): **The Cistercian World: Citeaux and the growth of the Cistercian order AHHI7003**

Name of Designated Person

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Date authorised: 30 .07.12

Moodle/Powerpoint

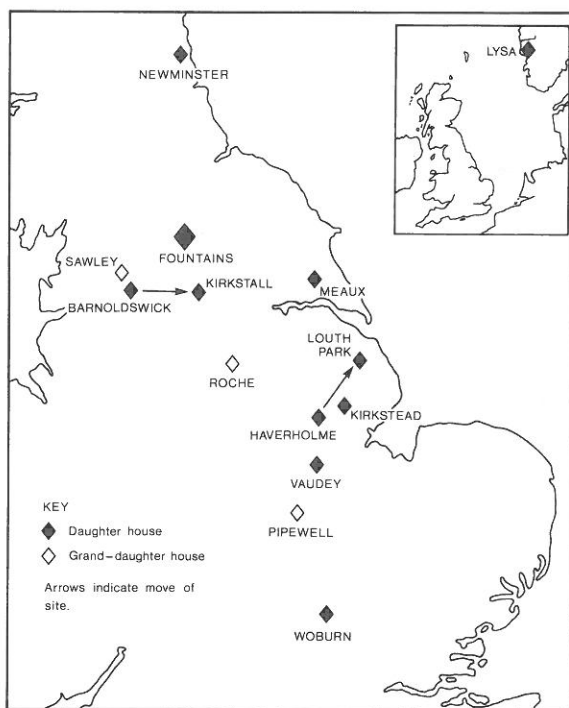
The first stone monastery

The remarkable change of fortune that befell the Fountains community in 1135 marked the start of a period of sustained spiritual growth and financial security that was to continue well into the thirteenth century. Before his death in 1139, Abbot Richard was to see his convent established in a new stone church which was begun in 1136, one of the earliest known of the order's churches and built within a decade of the writing of Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia ad Guilielmum*. Its plan has been partially recovered by excavation and it represents the earliest form of stone church approved by so centralized an order.

Its building marks the second stage in the abbey's life, that of mission-centre responsible for spreading the Cistercian reform throughout England and further afield. The method by which the reform was spread was to dispatch groups of 12 monks and an abbot to establish daughter-houses or colonies on land given by patrons for that purpose. The abbot of each new daughter-house would normally be one of the most senior monks, and in the case of Fountains this meant members of the founding community trained by Geoffroi d'Ainai. The ability to establish colonies was strictly controlled by the availability of monks and the availability of willing patrons, and the events of the late 1130s demonstrate that Fountains' growing reputation attracted both many recruits to the cloister and men of substance who were sufficiently impressed to endow new monasteries. In this, Fountains was to outshine Rievaulx.

The first colonies

The first daughter-house established from Fountains in 1138 was settled on the fen edge



8 The daughter-houses of Fountains and other members of the filiation in England and Lysa in Norway.

in Lincolnshire at Haverholme near Sleaford (8). The first abbot was Gervase, one of the founding monks from York. A party of lay brothers had been sent to Haverholme the previous year to prepare the site, evidence that Fountains had begun to recruit the *conversi* who were to establish the agricultural fortunes of the house, as well as choir-monks. The site was provided by Alexander 'the Magnificent',

the Bishop of Lincoln, a certain sign that the community in Skelldale had achieved spiritual respectability. Alexander had almost certainly been introduced to the Fountains community by Archbishop Thurstan and he was to remain a committed supporter of the Cistercians in his immense diocese that extended from the Thames to the Humber. It appears that this first daughter-house was founded more from piety than practicality and the site proved to be unsuitable, a common problem with many Cistercian colonies, and Bishop Alexander moved the community to a new site in his deer-park at Louth from which the new abbey became known as *de Parco Ludo* or Louth Park.

A second colony was dispatched to the wilds of Northumberland under the abbacy of Robert, the ex-Whitby monk who was one of the first Fountains community. The name given to this daughter-house is significant for it was called *Novum Monasterium* or Newminster, the original name of Cîteaux itself. Its temporary buildings were laid out by Abbot Robert 'after our manner' though the founder, Ranulph de Merlay, Lord of Morpeth, claimed responsibility for their construction. This split responsibility was to ensure that suitable buildings were completed before the new colony arrived, a requirement of Cistercian statutes since at least 1113.

The planning of new colonies took some time, as the foundation of the third daughter-house, of Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, proves. Hugh Brito, the Lord of Tattershall, had visited Fountains in 1137 but two years were spent in preparing the site before Robert de Subella and 12 monks were sent out to settle it. Not only were buildings and monks required for a new foundation, but the statutes of the order required that each new colony was to be sent out with its complement of necessary and officially approved books: a missal, the gospels, a gradual, an antiphony, a hymnal, a psalter, a copy of the rule and a religious calendar. Because these books had to reflect the Cistercian reform they would have to be copied at the mother-house, a lengthy process in itself. Since the initial foundation of Fountains itself had been so uncertain, careful planning seems generally to have gone hand-in-hand with religious zeal for not one of the eight colonies established from Fountains before 1150 was to fail.

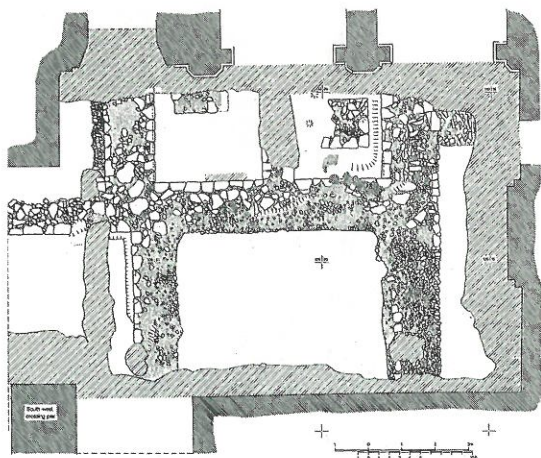
By the death of Abbot Richard, the establishment of daughter-houses had depleted the

Fountains community of a quarter of its original members, 36 choir-monks who had joined the first community, and an unknown number of lay brothers. In the same period, Rievaulx, Fountains' natural rival, had only established two colonies, both in 1136. In both cases there appears to have been a direct correlation between the number of recruits to the mother-house and the need to establish colonies, as though the intention was to keep the mother-house to a manageable size. This is reflected at Fountains in the stone church built by Abbot Richard.

A stone church

The earliest stone churches of the Cistercians, those of Cîteaux and Pontigny, known only from contemporary descriptions, were rectangular buildings of great simplicity, a far cry from the monumental cruciform church begun at Clairvaux in 1135 by the architects Achard and Geoffroi d'Ainai and which is now seen as the model for the order's twelfth-century churches. The contemporary church built at Fountains is more typical of the order's early churches, cruciform but with an unstressed crossing, a short square-ended presbytery to house the altar, and small rectangular transept chapels. Only the south transept and parts of the crossing and presbytery have been excavated, but sufficient has been seen to indicate its likely plan (9 and see 4).

The new church envelops the site of the timber oratory, an unusual feature, for its building must have interfered with the constant round of services. Normally, a replacement church would have been built on an adjacent site to avoid this inconvenience, but at Fountains the site of the community's first Cistercian church was deemed to be so important that it was to be reused by succeeding churches. More remarkable than the placing of this church, though, was its scale. It was small, and unlike its successors had a short nave without aisles, and the transepts were mere adjuncts, walled off from the main body of the church. It was not built for a large community and must simply have been intended to serve only for the mission phase of the house when numbers of choir monks can have been no greater than 40 or 50. Even so, the church must have seemed distinctly cramped. The lack of a large aisled nave precludes the army of lay brothers that became a feature of the house.

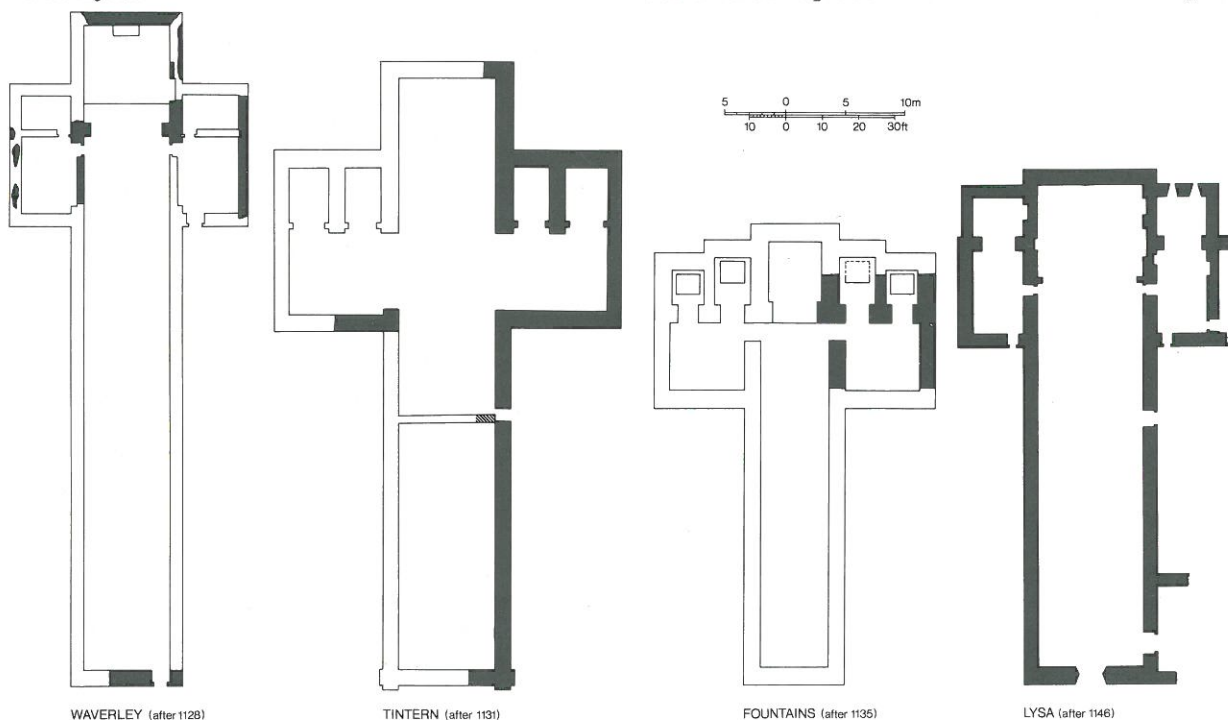


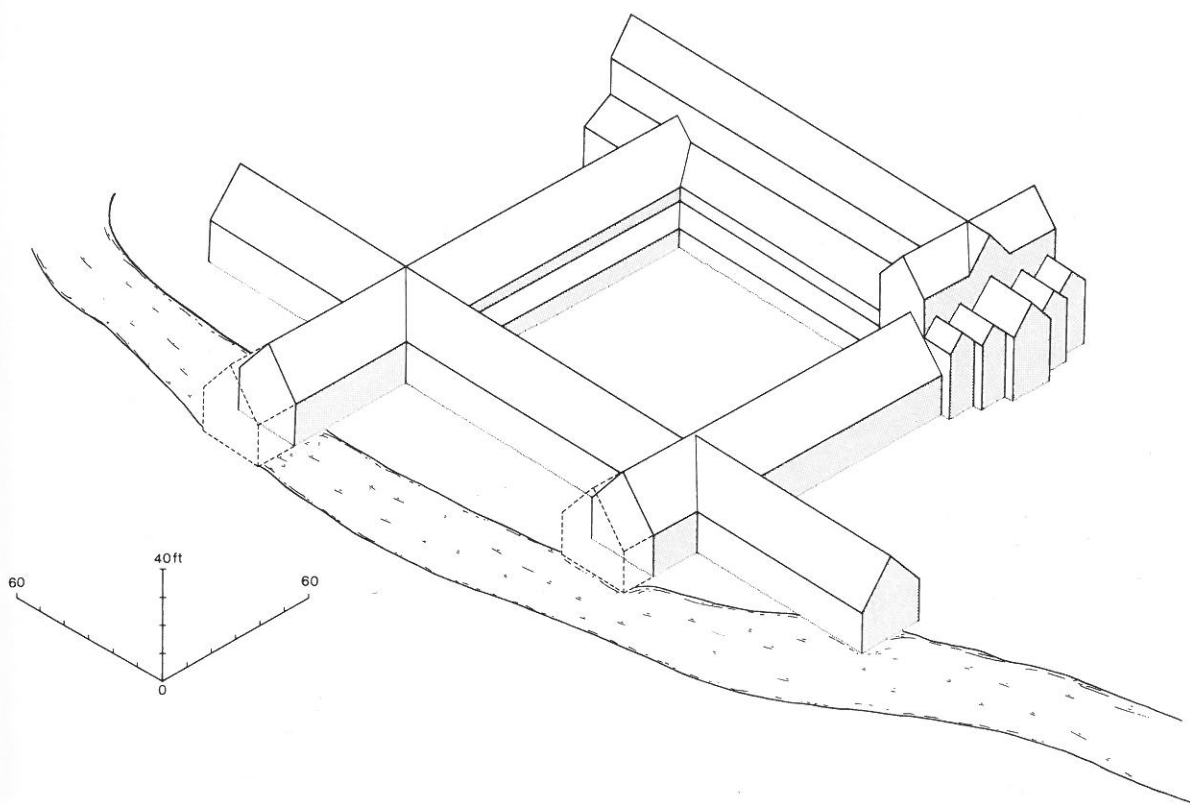
9 *The first stone church survives only as foundations, for its materials were later reused to build its successor. Only the south transept and a part of the crossing have been excavated.*

The plan of the church is comparable with the other early churches known at Waverley in Surrey, a grand-daughter of Citeaux founded in 1128 and built presumably in the early 1130s, and Tintern, founded from Waverley in 1131 (10). Nothing survives of the superstructure of the Fountains church but comparison with surviving fabric at Waverley shows that the building was tall and apparently reflected the architecture of the Burgundian cradle of the order. Some indication of the height of the transepts at Fountains can be gained from later buildings that abutted them (11). Whilst it respected the Cistercian philosophy of simplicity, the inspiration for the plan can have come from non-Cistercian sources, particularly the simple churches of the Augustinian canons who had spread throughout England a generation before the Cistercians arrived. Similar form and scale can be detected at Portchester Priory, built with royal patronage in the years after 1133, the simple church of Kirkham Priory built in the 1120s, or the Benedictine priory church of Ewenny built in the 1130s but not colonized before 1141.

The Fountains church tells us a great deal about the community that built it. First, it was a free-standing structure without an associated cloister, with a timber domestic building to its south that replaced the earlier timber range.

10 *A reconstruction of the ground-plan of the first stone church at Fountains compared with the undeveloped churches of Waverley, Tintern and Lysa.*





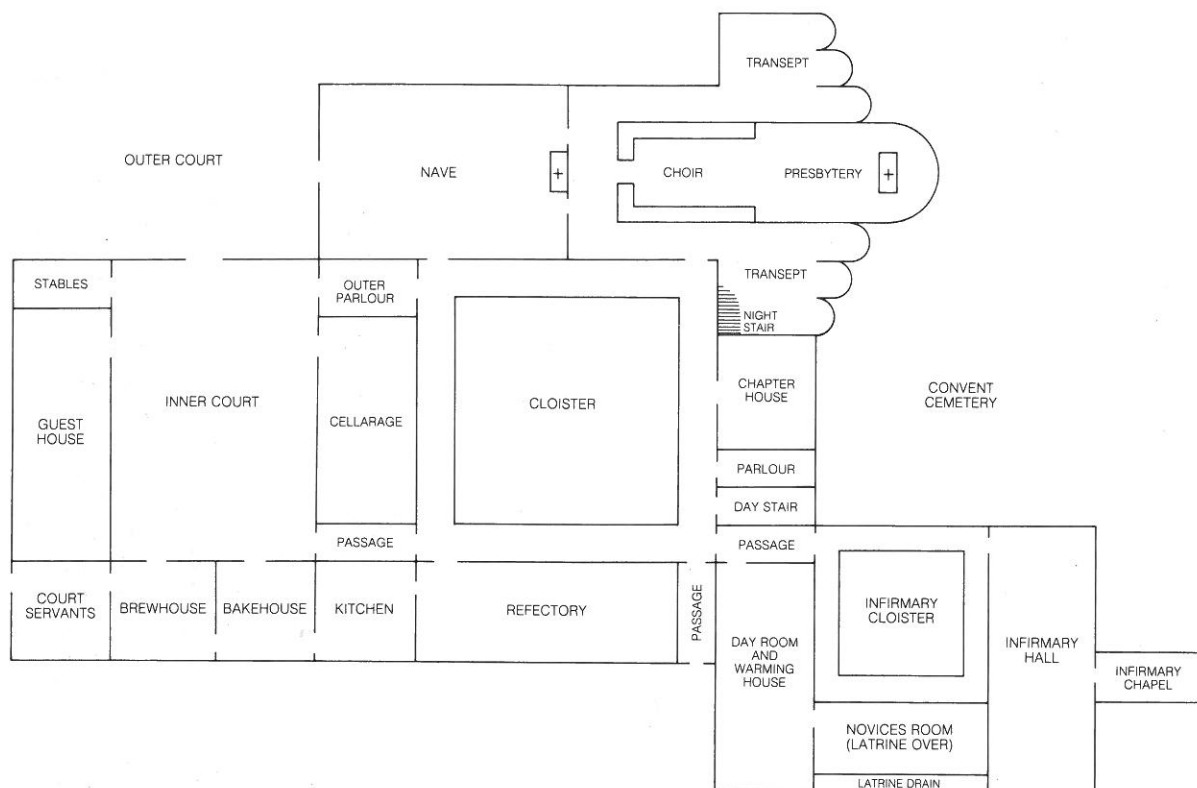
11 *The cloister buildings and nave added to the first stone church by Abbot Henry Murdac before the fire of 1146 can be reconstructed with a fair degree of accuracy. Shown in broken line are extensions to the east and west ranges built during the post-fire reconstruction.*

Secondly, it betrays evidence of the community's Benedictine origins, both in plan and decoration. The east end of the building was built to a stepped plan, with the inner transept chapels being deeper than the outer ones. Although the chapels and presbytery are square-ended in the Cistercian fashion, their plan repeats the stepped apses that marked the east end of York Abbey, perhaps an unconscious repetition of the design of the church the monks had previously known. Like York Abbey, the church had been plastered and painted internally and externally. Most of this plaster was white-limed and overpainted with a masonry pattern common to all orders in the twelfth century. A respond capital had survived and been reset in the lower walling of the later church. This retained traces of multi-coloured leaf decoration that was very un-

Cistercian in its appearance. Glass, too, survived from the windows of the south transept chapels, and this was not the plain glass favoured by the order and mandatory from 1147 but included red and blue quarries that implied decorative windows. The simplicity of the order was expressed in other ways. The altars in the transept chapels were simple affairs built of wood, set in the plain mortar floors of the chapels. The main body of the transept had an earth floor, while the more important areas of the choir and presbytery had mortar floors, separated by a single step that marked the entrance to the presbytery. The choir stalls, of which no trace remained, were set against the walls that closed off the transepts, and between them the floor was strewn with compressed layers of rushes.

Abbot Richard was replaced by his prior, another Richard who had been the sacrist at York, a saintly man who felt himself to be unworthy of his promotion and shrank from the administrative duties of the office. He was deeply respected by the community for his religious conviction and ability to resolve spiritual problems but he was not the person to

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12 *The ground-plan of a typical Benedictine monastery of the first half of the twelfth century differed little from that of the St Gall plan of the ninth century. The living accommodation of the monks was placed around a square cloister with the church on the north side. The dormitory occupied the first floor of the east range above the chapter-house, parlour and dayroom, and the abbot's house occupied the first floor of the west range above the outer parlour and cellarage. (Compare with 14A.)*

involve himself with great building schemes, and between 1139 and his death in 1143 Fountains enjoyed a period of consolidation. During his abbacy, Archbishop Thurstan died, depriving the community of its principal patron, and Richard II involved the abbey in a dispute over his successor that was to have disastrous consequences in later years (see p.32–3).

In 1144, Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux intervened in the affairs of Fountains to provide a strong leader who would impress Cistercian

orthodoxy on the convent which still retained traces of its Benedictine past, Henry Murdac, Abbot of Vauchair, was sent to Fountains ostensibly to advise the community on the choice of a new abbot but in reality to be elected himself. A Yorkshireman and Master of the Schools in York, he had taught Abbot William of Rievaulx before both had entered Clairvaux.

Henry became a close friend of Bernard, and Clairvaux-trained and a zealot forceful to the point of being overbearing, he was just the person to ensure the strengthening of the abbey, being the first abbot trained in continental European practice. Murdac was a builder, he had seen the rebuilding of the church and cloister at Clairvaux, and as abbot of Vauchair had been responsible for building the church there on the Clairvaux model. At Fountains he was to complete the building of the first stone monastery, and was indirectly responsible for its destruction by fire in 1146.

Abbot Henry Murdac's buildings

Murdac must have been appalled by what he found at Fountains on his arrival in 1144. The small stone church and timber domestic build-



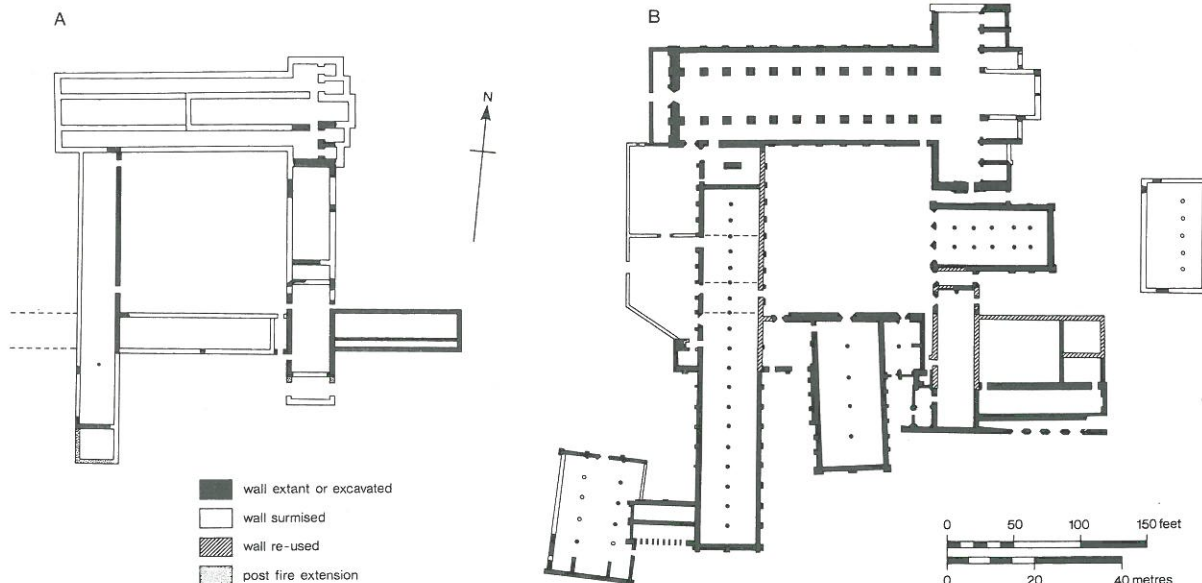
13 *Part of Murdac's east cloister range survives to full height encased within a later rebuilding. It can be identified by its small, roughly-squared blocks of gritstone with wide mortar joints, the remains of thick external white-limed plaster, and with absolutely plain doors and windows detailed in good quality ashlar.*

ings represented an outdated philosophy, for the Cistercians had moved back to the principles of un-reformed Benedictine planning that had been abandoned by the founding generation. The reason for this was simply growing numbers and the success of the reform movement. The order had taken the standard Benedictine layout (12) and modified it to their own needs and taste. Gone was the informal layout of simple buildings, to be replaced by the formal enclosure of the cloister. The presence of lay brothers required a departure from the Benedictine plan, for their accommodation was to be separate from that of the choir monks and they were to have their own church. Their presence also required the provision of an Outer Court within the monastery where they could work,

separated again from the monks, to emphasize their secondary status.

Murdac's primary task was therefore to enlarge the first stone church and build permanent cloister buildings of the latest continental Cistercian design for the community. The first thing that is apparent about Murdac's building is its scale. A vast cloister was laid out to the south of the existing church, 38m (125ft) square, contemporary with the addition of a great aisled nave to Abbot Richard's small church. This cloister survives today. Considerable parts of Murdac's cloister ranges, the house he built for the community, also still survive, embedded in later buildings. Enough remains above ground or has been excavated over the past 22 years to reconstruct not only the plan of his monastery but also to recover details of its elevations (see 11). His buildings, which were completed in less than three years, can be recognized by their distinctive masonry (13 and see 95). Parts of the east, south and west cloister ranges survive to their full height of 6.10m (20ft), capped by a chamfered string-course that carried the eaves of the roof. Excavation has demonstrated that all the buildings

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14 *The ground plan of Abbot Henry's monastery (A) has been identified by a study of its surviving remains and by excavation. Its buildings remain within the monastery that was reconstructed in the later twelfth century (B).*

were roofed in tile. The ranges were 7m (23ft) wide internally, the same width as the earliest cloister ranges recently identified at Rievaulx, a fact that might suggest modular planning that has already been identified in early Cistercian churches. These new and closely dated cloister buildings provide the finest example of early twelfth-century planning in the order (14A and see 11) and demonstrate the best continental practice that must have been derived from Clairvaux itself, where the early twelfth-century buildings have largely been destroyed.

Before any building could be contemplated, the river Skell was moved some 26m (84ft) to the south and a stone-lined drain was constructed along its old line to flush latrines that were to be built to serve both the lay brothers in the west range and the choir-monks in the east range. Next, a terrace was created on the valley floor approximately level with the floor of Abbot Richard's church. On this terrace the new cloister buildings were raised. The east range was butted up to the south transept of the existing stone church, but the contemporary west range

was bonded with the south wall of the extended nave, showing that it must also be the work of Abbot Henry.

The east range was of two storeys and still survives at its south end to full height. Against the south transept of the church was the chapter-house where the abbey's business was conducted, discipline enforced and a daily chapter of the Rule of St Benedict heard. It was contained within the range and must have been a low, dark room for its ceiling was the wooden floor of the dormitory above that was only 2.14m (7ft) above ground level. To the south of the chapter-house was the parlour, the only room in which conversation was allowed. Next came the day-stair to the dormitory, approached by a tall door now blocked from the cloister. The stair itself must have been of timber for it has left no trace, but a small room below the stair was lit by a round-headed window in the east wall which still survives (see 95). To the south of the day-stair was a passage through the range, and to the south of this the day-room set aside for manual work within the cloister. In a Benedictine monastery this room would have been provided with fireplaces and doubled as the warming-house where fires were permitted between 1 November and Good Friday, but at Fountains there is no evidence that this room was heated at all, a certain indication that Cistercian life was meant to be hard and unremitting.

To the east of the east range was a long building partially set over the original course of the Skell. Its upper floor was the monks' latrine, communicating with their dormitory by a door which still survives and to the north of which is the round-headed opening in which a lamp was placed to light access to the latrines at night. Its ground floor had a long, narrow room walled off from the latrine drain, traditionally set aside for the training of novices. Latrine chutes in the thickness of its south wall show that the monks' latrine also served a yard between it and the Skell, an area set aside for manual work outside the cloister. All monasteries took sanitation seriously, but none more so than the Cistercians who were particularly conspicuous for the attention they paid to drainage. This latrine block was set over a massive drain laid in the original bed of the river Skell that was continually flushed by water from the river, ensuring that the site was kept free of sewage and the risk of disease that it carried.

The upper floor of the east range, the monks' dorter or dormitory, was lit by a series of small round-headed windows and was an undivided space 49m (160ft) long. The monks' beds would have been ranged along the side walls, allowing space for approximately 80 choir-monks. Night access to the church was provided by a door in the gable wall of the south transept, but the principal access was by the day-stair from the east cloister alley.

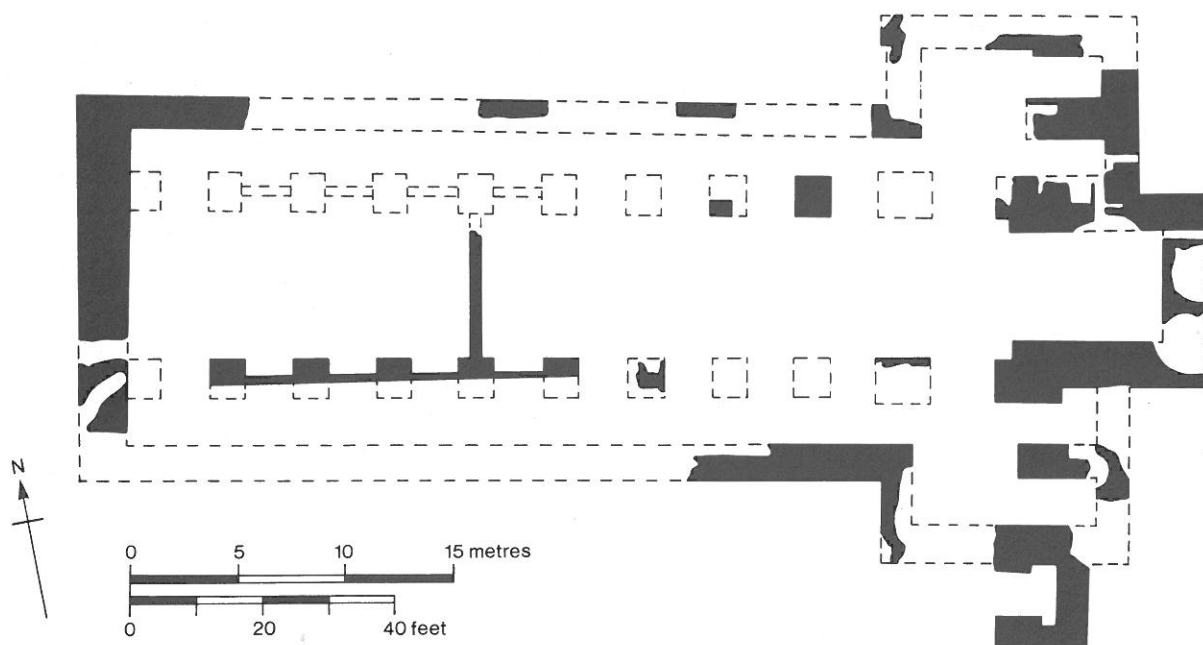
The ground-floor refectory, aligned west to east, was open to the roof in the same manner as a domestic hall. At the east end of the range a passage runs through the range at ground-floor level, leading to a yard on the south side of the refectory, and there was a room above the passage accessible from the monks' dormitory. This may be a private chamber for the abbot who lived in common with his monks and was required by statute to sleep within the dormitory.

The west range was the home of the lay brothers and with the exception of the chapter-house it mirrored the accommodation provided for the monks, providing an open dormitory 64m (210ft) long at first-floor level, large enough to house perhaps 140 lay brothers. At the north end of the ground floor was the outer parlour where monks and lay brethren alike could receive visitors from the outside world. Towards the centre was cellarage which

extended almost the full length of the cloister. South of this was a passage through the range flanked by a porter's lodge which provided access to the cloister alleys. Immediately to the south of this, the remainder of the range was taken up by the lay brothers' refectory. An offset visible on the inner face of the east wall shows that the ground floor, like that of the east range, was only 2.10m (7ft) high. The lay brothers' latrine, still unexcavated, lay above the old course of the Skell to the west of the range. The east and west ranges extended to within 6m (20ft) of the north bank of the realigned river and in the yard between them would have been a detached kitchen, probably served by a bridge across the Skell. A metallated path has been located, skirting the south end of the west range and leading into the kitchen yard.

Of Murdac's enlargement of the church only a short length of its south nave wall can be seen. From this it appears that aisles were added to the earlier nave which was extended substantially to the west. The purpose was to provide a church for the lay brothers in the nave. Aisles were necessary as passages to provide access since the main body of the church was divided into liturgical units by screens. To establish the likely plan of Murdac's nave it is necessary to look at the church he built at Vauclair before he came to Fountains, for the nave of the early church at Fountains has yet to be excavated.

The abbey of Vauclair was founded in 1134 and permanent buildings were begun within a year or two of settlement and it is likely that construction of the church was completed before Murdac's departure for Fountains in 1144. Abbot Henry's church was unknown before its excavation in the late 1960s (15). Only the foundations had survived a later rebuilding but the plan they demonstrate is the earliest known example of 'Bernardine' planning derived from the great church of Clairvaux itself. The two churches must in fact be closely contemporary in date. The nave of nine bays is what concerns us here, for its dimensions bear a remarkably close resemblance to the dimensions of Murdac's nave at Fountains which must have been closely modelled on it. Its appearance is unknown but another contemporary church, that of the Clairvaux colony of Fontenay, remains intact. Built between 1139 and 1147 it is closely contemporary with



15 *Ground-plan of Henry Murdac's church at Vauclair, one of the earliest known great churches of the family of Clairvaux, built shortly before he became abbot of Fountains in 1144 (after Courtois).*

Murdac's churches and its stark Burgundian detailing (16) with pointed arches to the main arcades might give a clue as to the appearance of the Fountains nave. Unlike Fontenay, Fountains appears to have had an upper storey lighting its nave, and it would have been roofed in timber. This was the model favoured at Clairvaux and the lack of a clerestory at Fontenay may simply be a mark of lower status within the order.

The destruction of Fountains in 1146

Abbot Richard II had involved his abbey in the disputed election of William FitzHerbert to the archbishopric of York in 1140. King Stephen had nominated William to the see against the united opposition of the Augustinians and Cistercians who did not consider him to be a suitable candidate. Abbot Richard II, supported by Bernard of Clairvaux, took the case to Rome and persuaded Pope Eugenius III, himself a Cistercian monk, to withhold recognition of the election. Richard himself died at Clairvaux and his successor, Abbot Henry, no doubt

instructed by St Bernard, took up the fight with his customary zeal. Henry himself soon became the favoured candidate of the opposition party, bringing accusations of simony against the archbishop at the Council of Rheims that were to lead to his deposition early in 1147.

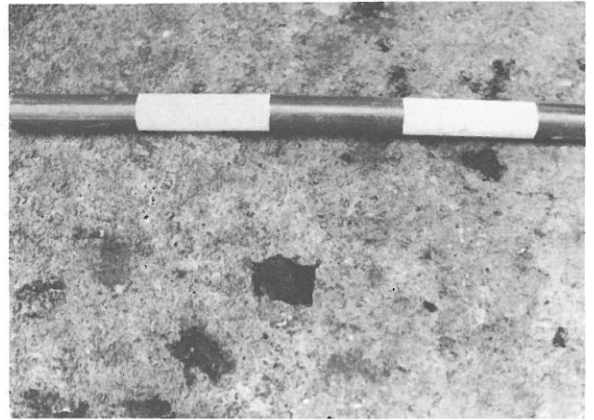
So intense was the antagonism in 1146 that supporters of Archbishop William marched on Fountains seeking to murder Abbot Henry. Unable to find him, they sacked the abbey, finding little of value in the process, and fired its buildings. Serlo, who was present during the attack, tells how 'the convent stood by and saw the buildings erected by the sweat of their brows enveloped in flames and soon to be ashes, and that only the oratory and offices adjoining it reserved for prayer remained half-consumed, like a branch plucked from the burning', a slight exaggeration to judge from what survives. Excavation has proved, however, that his overall description of the event was reasonably accurate. Traces of a serious fire have been found in both the east and west cloister ranges and in the south transept of the church itself (17), where the burning was sufficiently severe to melt the window glass and bring down the wall-plaster. Henry Murdac himself had been in the church during the assault, prostrated before the high altar, and it is significant that no trace of burning was found in the area of the choir and presbytery,



16 *The abbey church of Fontenay built between 1139 and 1147 and closely contemporary with the first stone church at Fountains, remains complete, demonstrating the simplicity of the 'Bernardine' model (Terryl Kinder).*

where the rushes on the floor were not even charred. The wall that separated the transept from the crossing had evidently contained the fire, and miraculously the abbey church survived in a usable state.

FitzHerbert's deposition in 1147 left the way clear for Abbot Henry's election to the archbishopric, though King Stephen refused to invest him with the temporalities of the see and feeling ran so strongly against him that he was unable to enter his own cathedral city. It was a pyrrhic victory that had cost his convent their home and forced him to administer his archdiocese from the bishops' palace in Ripon that the founding community had left with such hopes on 27 December 1132.



17 *Intense burning in the southern chapel of the south transept left melted window glass and fallen wall-plaster fused to the floor.*

Reconstruction

Henry Murdac was obliged to resign his abbacy when he became archbishop, though he continued to impose his will on two of his successors. The first was Maurice, who had previously been the second abbot of Rievaulx and before he joined the Cistercians there, had been sub-prior of the great Benedictine cathedral-priory of Durham. After only three months he retired again to Rievaulx, finding his position intolerable, to be succeeded by another Rievaulx monk, Thorold, who was later to become abbot of Trois-Fontaines. To Thorold fell the task of rebuilding the ruined abbey. In Serlo's words, the monks 'repaired the fallen places and rebuilt the ruins, and as it was written "the walls had fallen but were rebuilt with squared stones"'. The south transept of the church was refitted, with new mortar floors and stone altars in the eastern chapels which sealed the evidence of burning (18). The cloister ranges must have been left roofless shells, and a grant of timber by Alan, Earl of Richmond, in 1147 might be associated with the replacement of burned floors and roofs. It is impossible to tell from what remains if more drastic reconstruction was required. The opportunity was taken during the post-fire repair to extend both the west and east ranges to the north bank of the Skell (both extensions are shown on 11 in broken line), extending both the lay brothers' and monks' dormitories to allow for growing numbers as well as providing additional room



18 *A new stone altar set on a mortar floor replaced the timber altar in the southern transept chapel destroyed by fire in 1146.*

at ground-floor level. The replacement of the wooden floor to the lay brothers' dormitory with a stone vault supported on masonry piers had the effect of fire-proofing the ground floor.

The second phase of colonization

Abbot Henry continued the policy of missionary colonization begun by Abbot Richard when he persuaded Hugh de Bolbec to endow a daughter-house at Woburn in Bedfordshire in 1145 (see 8). The colony was lead by Alan, one of the founding group at Fountains, and additionally brother Adam was again employed to set out the temporary buildings. Adam's future career suggests that he may indeed have been specifically trained by Geoffroi d'Ainai to set out the Fountains family of monasteries, though we have no idea what his contribution to the building of the first stone monastery at Fountains itself was.

Following the destruction of Fountains by FitzHerbert's supporters, three more daughter-houses were settled in 1146-7, the number suggesting the need to reduce the size of the

mother-community while repairs were carried out. The first of these in 1146 demonstrated the internationalism of the Cistercians. Led by Ranulf a colony set out for Norway, settling at Lysa near Bergen at the invitation of Bishop Sigurd who had visited Fountains and who provided the site. Clairvaux had already settled a daughter-house at Alvastra in Sweden in 1143, and the settlement of Lysakloster from Fountains suggests a policy within the Clairvaux family to bring the Cistercian mission to Scandinavia, planned by St Bernard himself. In 1147, monks from Kirkstead were settled at Hovedö, and Lysa itself established a daughter-house at Tutterö in 1207, completing the Cistercian settlement of Norway within the Fountains family.

The second colony set out in March to settle at Barnoldswick in Craven under the patronage of two powerful Yorkshire barons, William de Poitou and Henry de Lacy. They were led by Alexander, and the party of 12 monks included Serlo who by this time would have been one of the senior members of the Fountains community. The site at Barnoldswick was not an ideal one, it proved too wet and was based on a pre-existing settlement that did not provide the detachment from the world that the Cistercian

statutes required. Abbot Alexander's demolition of the parish church did little to improve relations with the local community, and the convent moved to a better site at Kirkstall in the valley of the Aire to the west of Leeds on the advice of their patrons in 1152. The third colony was led by Warrin, exceptionally not one of the monks from York, and set out for Bytham in Lincolnshire where a site had been granted by William le Gros, Count of Aumale and Earl of Yorkshire. Like Barnoldswick, this site proved unsatisfactory, this time having too little water, and in 1149 the convent moved to a new site provided by one of William's tenants that they called *Vallis Dei*, the Valley of God, and which became known in English as Vaudey. Here the abbey buildings were again laid out by brother Adam. The failure of both initial sites suggests that they were chosen too hurriedly, supporting the suggestion that monks were being removed from Fountains because of the abbey's destruction rather than in a carefully planned policy of colonization.

Planned during the reconstruction of Fountains and settled late in 1150 was an eighth and final colony at Meaux in Holderness. Brother Adam had met William le Gros in 1149 when he was engaged in laying out the buildings of Vaudey and had been asked to advise the count how he could redeem a pledge made in his

youth to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land that he could no longer undertake because he had grown too old and fat. He was already the patron of three monasteries including Vaudey. Brother Adam suggested the foundation of a second Cistercian abbey, and Pope Eugenius III readily agreed to a dispensation. Adam was to lead the colony himself and William invited him to choose a site on his extensive estates. He chose, to the count's distress, the land in Holderness 'well planted with woods and orchards, surrounded with rivers and waters and favoured with rich soil' that William had recently purchased and was in the process of enclosing as a hunting park.

The establishment of Meaux Abbey ended the first generation of the Fountains family. A second generation was also growing, for Newminster under its first abbot, St Robert, had established colonies of its own: at Pipewell in Northamptonshire in 1143; at Roche in south Yorkshire in 1147; and at Sawley in Craven in 1148 (see 8). In England, the Fountains family was complete and the mission phase was over. From 1150, Fountains Abbey was to be transformed from a missionary outpost to the head of a substantial family of subsidiary abbeys, like Clairvaux a mother-house at the head of its own filiation.